

## Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 STATE 212912  
ORIGIN EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 AF-10 CIAE-00 PM-05 INR-10 L-03  
ACDA-12 NSAE-00 PA-01 SS-15 SP-02 TRSE-00 DODE-00  
NSCE-00 SSO-00 ICAE-00 INRE-00 IO-13 HA-05 ARA-10  
/099 R

DRAFTED BY EUR/SOV:RPERITO:LA  
APPROVED BY EUR/RPM:CHTHOMAS  
EUR:WLUERS  
EUR/RPM:JGALLUP/BCLARK  
EUR/SOV:WTSHINN  
AF/I:WLEWIS

-----076670 221927Z /50

O 221917Z AUG 78  
FM SECSTATE WASHDC  
TO USMISSION USNATO IMMEDIATE  
INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 212912

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: NATO, UR, XA

SUBJECT: UK ANALYSIS OF SOVIET AFRICAN POLICY

REF: USNATO 7194

1. THE DEPARTMENT APPRECIATES THE OPPORTUNITY TO COMMENT  
ON THE VERY THOUGHTFUL PAPER ON SOVIET POLICY TOWARD  
AFRICA SUBMITTED BY THE BRITISH REPRESENTATIVE. WE AGREE  
WITH THE PAPER'S DESCRIPTION OF RECENT SOVIET BEHAVIOR  
IN AFRICA AND WITH THE REASONING ABOUT PROBABLE SOVIET  
MOTIVATIONS. AT THIS POINT, SOME SIX MONTHS LATER, IT IS  
USEFUL TO ASSESS THE REASONS BEHIND SOVIET ACTIONS  
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 STATE 212912

FOLLOWING THE SUCCESS OF SOVIET/CUBAN INTERVENTION IN THE  
OGADEN.

2. IN DISCUSSING SOVIET MOTIVATIONS, THE PAPER RAISES  
THE KEY QUESTION OF WHETHER COUNTERMEASURES TAKEN IN  
THE EAST-WEST CONTEXT ARE MORE EFFECTIVE IN RESTRAINING  
SOVIET BEHAVIOR THAN THOSE IN THE AFRICAN CONTEXT. IN

ANSWER, IT CONCLUDES WITH THE STATEMENT THAT SOVIET READINESS TO EXPLOIT AFRICAN SITUATIONS TO THE DIS-ADVANTAGE OF THE WEST IS NOT SUFFICIENTLY STRONG TO OVERRIDE THE OCCASIONAL NEED FOR RESTRAINT IN THE INTEREST OF THEIR OVERALL RELATIONS WITH THE WEST. THIS MEANS THAT ON OCCASION THE SOVIETS HAVE FOREGONE ATTEMPTS TO

ACHIEVE THEIR POLICY OBJECTIVES IN DEFERENCE TO OFFENDING WESTERN SENSIBILITIES AND PRESERVING DETENTE.

3. IN OUR VIEW SOVIET/CUBAN ACTIONS IN AFRICA HAVE BEEN INFLUENCED BY A TRIAD OF REGIONAL FACTORS WHICH HAVE PLAYED A SIGNIFICANT ROLE IN RESTRAINING SOVIET BEHAVIOR IN AFRICA. THESE INCLUDE POSITIONS TAKEN BY AFRICAN STATES, BY OTHER STATES (PRINCIPALLY ARAB), AS WELL AS THOSE TAKEN BY WESTERN COUNTRIES.

4. FUNDAMENTALLY, IT IS THE CHANGING AFRICAN ATTITUDES TOWARD SOVIET/CUBAN INTERVENTION AND THE ABSENCE OF ANY NEW OPPORTUNITIES WHICH HAS CAUSED THE SOVIETS TO BE SOMEWHAT RESTRAINED IN RECENT MONTHS. THIS CHANGE HAS BEEN HELPED ALONG BY THE SUCCESS OF WESTERN DIPLOMATIC INITIATIVES TOWARD AFRICA (PARTICULARLY NAMIBIA) AND INCREASED WESTERN ATTENTION TO PROBLEMS FACED BY THE AFRICAN STATES. WESTERN DIPLOMATIC EFFORTS LIKE THOSE WHICH FACILITATED A RECONCILIATION BETWEEN ZAIRE AND

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 STATE 212912

ANGOLA HAVE DEMONSTRATED TO AFRICAN LEADERS THAT THEY HAVE A CLEAR ALTERNATIVE TO RELIANCE ON SOVIET/CUBAN MILITARY ASSISTANCE TO RESOLVE REGIONAL DISPUTES. THE SUCCESS OF THESE EFFORTS IS REFLECTED IN THE STRONG STANCE TAKEN BY A NUMBER OF AFRICAN LEADERS IN THE RECENT OAU CONFERENCE.

5. IN HIS JUNE 20 SPEECH IN ATLANTIC CITY, SECRETARY VANCE RE-EMPHASIZED OUR BELIEF THAT THE PROBLEMS OF AFRICA SHOULD BE SETTLED BY AFRICANS IN AN AFRICAN CONTEXT. ONLY BY REMOVING FUTURE OPPORTUNITIES CAN WE PREVENT THE SOVIETS FROM EXPLOITING AFRICAN SITUATIONS TO THEIR OWN ADVANTAGE.

6. THE OPPOSITION OF OTHER COUNTRIES, PRINCIPALLY ARAB STATES, PROVIDES A SECOND COUNTERWEIGHT AGAINST FURTHER SOVIET/CUBAN ADVENTURES IN AFRICAN CONFLICTS. SOVIET ACTIONS IN ERITREA PRODUCED A STRONG REACTION FROM IRAQ AND SYRIA, WHICH HAVE CONTINUED TO SUPPORT THE ERITREAN REBELS. ADDED TO EARLIER OPPOSITION FROM SAUDI ARABIA EGYPT AND SUDAN TO SOVIET/CUBAN ACTIONS IN THE OGADEN, THIS CHANGE IN ATTITUDE ON THE PART OF MORE RADICAL STATES HAS CREATED A FORMIDABLE GROUP OF ARAB OPPONENTS WITH CONSIDERABLE POLITICAL AND FINANCIAL RESOURCES AT THEIR

DISPOSAL. BEYOND THE ARAB CONCERNS, HOWEVER, IS A SOURING  
IN THE NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT TOWARD SOVIET/CUBAN ACTIVITIES.  
THE SOVIETS MOST CERTAINLY HAVE TAKEN NOTE OF THE  
CRITICISM OF THEIR ACTIONS FROM THIRD WORLD COUNTRIES  
OUTSIDE OF AFRICA.

7. IN A BROADER CONTEXT, ACTIONS TAKEN BY THE UNITED

STATES AND THE ALLIES HAVE PUT THE SOVIETS ON NOTICE  
THAT THEIR BEHAVIOR IN AFRICA IS UNACCEPTABLE. THIS IS  
PARTICULARLY TRUE IN THE CASE OF SOVIET ENCOURAGEMENT  
FOR ARMED ACTIONS ACROSS INTERNATIONAL BORDERS. THE WEST'S  
RAPID RESPONSE TO THE SHABA CRISIS WAS A FIRM REMINDER  
TO MOSCOW THAT THERE WERE LIMITS BEYOND WHICH SOVIET  
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 STATE 212912

ACTIONS WOULD NOT BE TOLERATED.

CHRISTOPHER

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** X  
**Capture Date:** 01 jan 1994  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** INTELLIGENCE ASSESSMENTS, FOREIGN POLICY POSITION  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 22 aug 1978  
**Decaption Date:** 01 jan 1960  
**Decaption Note:**  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 20 Mar 2014  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
**Document Number:** 1978STATE212912  
**Document Source:** CORE  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** RPERITO:LA  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** GS  
**Errors:** N/A  
**Expiration:**  
**Film Number:** D780343-0610  
**Format:** TEL  
**From:** STATE  
**Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Image Path:**  
**ISecure:** 1  
**Legacy Key:** link1978/newtext/t19780836/aaaabeey.tel  
**Line Count:** 139  
**Litigation Code IDs:**  
**Litigation Codes:**  
**Litigation History:**  
**Locator:** TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM  
**Message ID:** 3168635f-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc  
**Office:** ORIGIN EUR  
**Original Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Page Count:** 3  
**Previous Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Previous Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Reference:** 78 USNATO 7194  
**Retention:** 0  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 03 jun 2005  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**SAS ID:** 1658053  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** UK ANALYSIS OF SOVIET AFRICAN POLICY  
**TAGS:** PGOV, UR, XA, US, NATO  
**To:** USNATO  
**Type:** TE  
**vdkgvwkey:** odb://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS\_Docs/3168635f-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc  
**Review Markings:**  
Sheryl P. Walter  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
20 Mar 2014  
**Markings:** Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014